

## Message Text

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53

ACTION EUR-25

INFO OCT-01 ADP-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-09 H-02 INR-10 L-03

NSAE-00 NSC-10 PA-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SS-15 USIA-12

GAC-01 SAJ-01 NIC-01 EB-11 COME-00 TRSE-00 RSR-01

/107 W

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R 151619 Z MAY 73

FM AMEMBASSY WARSAW

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3941

INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

USMISSION BERLIN

AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST

AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY PRAGUE

AMEMBASSY SOFIA

AMCONSUL MUNICH

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE WARSAW 2336

E. O. 11652: N/ A

TAGS: PFOR, PL, UR

SUBJECT: BREZHNEV VISIT COMMUNIQUE AND " RESOLUTION"

REF: WARSAW 2274

1. BEGIN SUMMARY: THE COMMUNIQUE PUBLISHED AFTER BREZHNEV'S DEPARTURE AND THE CURIOUS " RESOLUTION" PUBLISHED ON MAY 15 GIVE NO DIRECT EVIDENCE OF WHAT WAS DECIDED DURING THE VISIT. NEVERTHELESS, IT IS OUR IMPRESSION THAT THE POLES, FEARING THEY WILL BE LEFT BEHIND IN THE DEVELOPING RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN THE FRG AND THE OTHER WARSAW PACT COUNTRIES, ARE COUNTING MORE HEAVILY THAN BEFORE UPON THE SOVIETS TO ADVANCE POLISH INTERESTS

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IN BONN. END SUMMARY

2. SINCE BREZHNEV'S DEPARTURE FROM POLAND ON MAY 12, SOME FEATURES OF HIS VISIT HAVE BEGUN TO TAKE ON A SHARPER FOCUS, ALTHOUGH THE PICTURE IS BY NO MEANS COMPLETE. TRYBUNA LUDU ON MAY 13 CARRIED A FRONT-PAGE EDITORIAL WHICH STATED THAT BREZHNEV'S VISIT TO POLAND "AND ALSO TO THE GDR" BEFORE HIS OFFICIAL VISIT TO BONN HAD BEEN "RECEIVED EVERYWHERE WITH GREAT INTEREST", THUS EMPHASIZING, IN CASE ANYONE SHOULD HAVE MISSED THE POINT, THE MOST IMPORTANT REASON FOR THE VISIT FROM THE POLISH STANDPOINT, I. E., PRIOR CONSULTATION BY THE USSR WITH THE POLISH LEADERSHIP.

3. THE COMMUNIQUE, WHICH WAS ALSO PRINTED ON MAY 13, THE DAY FOLLOWING BREZHNEV'S DEPARTURE, CONTAINED WHAT SEEMED TO US FAIRLY PREDICTABLE AND STANDARD LANGUAGE. (WE ASSUME FBIS CARRIED THE TEXT.) WITH REGARD TO RELATIONS WITH THE FRG, IT GAVE FEW HINTS ON THE CONTENT OF WHAT WE ASSUME WAS THE CENTRAL TOPIC OF CONVERSATION. ONE POINT OF EMPHASIS THAT DOES SEEM TO EMERGE IS THE COORDINATION AND UNITY OF WARSAW PACT POLICY TOWARD THE FRG. WHILE THIS CAN PERHAPS BE SEEN AS PROVIDING A MILD KIND OF VERBAL REASSURANCE TO THE POLES, IF IT IMPLIES THAT IN THE COORDINATION PROCESS THEIR PARTICULAR CONCERNS ARE BEING TAKEN INTO ACCOUNT, IT ALSO SERVES TO LINE THEM UP SOLIDLY BEHIND WHATEVER THE SOVIETS MAY WISH TO DO.

4. IN A SOMEWHAT CURIOUS FORMULATION, THE COMMUNIQUE ALSO STATED THAT GIEREK HAD "CONFIRMED" A POLISH INVITATION FOR A SOVIET "PARTY-GOVERNMENT" DELEGATION TO VISIT POLAND, TO WHICH "BOTH SIDES ATTACH GREAT IMPORTANCE". NO DATE WAS SPECIFIED. SUCH A VISIT, IF IT OCCURS, WOULD BE THE FIRST OFFICIAL VISIT BY BREZHNEV AND KOSYGIN TO POLAND SINCE GIEREK TOOK OFFICE. THE IMPLICATION IS THAT THE INVITATION WAS EXTENDED AT SOME EARLIER DATE.

5. THERE ARE A NUMBER OF INDICATIONS THAT DISCUSSIONS DURING THE VISIT WERE INTENSIVE AND PROLONGED. WE HAVE HEARD FROM ONE SOURCE THAT, FOLLOWING THE DINNER GIVEN FOR BREZHNEV FRIDAY EVENING, TALKS RESUMED AND CONTINUED LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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THROUGH THE NIGHT, AND THE SOMEWHAT RUMPLED APPEARANCE OF THE PRINCIPALS AT THE AIRPORT ON SATURDAY MORNING WOULD SEEM TO GIVE SOME VISUAL CREDENCE TO THIS REPORT. A LOCAL DIPLOMAT HAS ALSO TOLD US HE SAW BREZHNEV ALONE IN A CAR AT 0800 SATURDAY MORNING EMERGING FROM THE SOVIET EMBASSY.

6. ANOTHER UNUSUAL ASPECT OF THE VISIT WAS THE PUBLICATION

ON THE FRONT PAGE OF TRYBUNA LUDU, MAY 15, OF A JOINT " RESOLUTION" OF THE POLISH CENTRAL COMMITTEE, COUNCIL OF STATE, AND COUNCIL OF MINISTERS, EXPRESSING " DEEP SATISFACTION" WITH THE VISIT, WHICH " INSCRIBED A NEW, IMMEASURABLY IMPORTANT PAGE IN FRATERNAL POLISH- SOVIET RELATIONS". THE RESOLUTION PROCEEDS IN EQUALLY EFFUSIVE LANGUAGE TO RING VARIATIONS ON THIS THEME, EMPHASIZING THE COMPLETE UNITY OF POLISH AND SOVIET VIAS CONCERNING THE PRESENT SITUATION IN EUROPE AND THE WORLD AND THE IMPORTANCE FOR BOTH COUNTRIES AND THE " SOCIALIST COMMONWEALTH" OF PURSUING A UNITED LINE. THE RESOLUTION ALSO ASCRIBES " PARTICULARLY GREAT SIGNIFICANCE" TO FURTHER " DYNAMIC GROWTH" OF POLISH- SOVIET ECONOMIC COOPERATION.

7. COMMENT: WHY SUCH A " RESOLUTION", WHICH IS WITHOUT PARALLEL UNDER THIS REGIME, SHOULD HAVE BEEN THOUGHT NECESSARY IS NOT IMMEDIATELY APPARENT, ALTHOUGH ONE CANNOT ENTIRELY EXCLUDE THE POSSIBILITY THAT IT STEMS IN PART FROM SOME PRIOR POLICY DISAGREEMENT WITHIN THE POLISH LEADERSHIP-- THUS NECESSITATING A DEMONSTRATION OF TOTAL UNITY AND BOUNDLESS SATISFACTION. IT DOES SEEM FAIRLY CLEAR, HOWEVER, THAT, IN SO FAR AS THE WEST GERMAN QUESTION IS CONCERNED, THE POLES HAVE TIED THEMSELVES TO THE SOVIETS AND ARE COUNTING ON THEM TO TAKE CARE OF POLISH INTERESTS. IT IS OUR CURRENT IMPRESSION, BASED ON VARIOUS INDICATIONS HERE, THAT THE POLES, HAVING GOT THEMSELVES INTO AN IMPASSE WITH THE FRG ON SUCH QUESTIONS AS THE ETHNIC GERMAN/ INDEMNIFICATION ISSUE, DEMANDS FOR SPECIAL TREATMENT ON TRADE MATTERS, AND WHETHER GIEREK SHOULD VISIT THE FRG, ARE NOW AFRAID THAT, IN THE CURRENTLY DEVELOPING RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN THE FRG AND THE EUROPEAN COMMUNIST WORLD, THEY MAY BE LEFT BEHIND ##

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## HOPES FOR SOVIET HELP ARE JUSTIFIED IS AT BEST DEBATABLE, BUT IT MAY BE THAT AT THIS POINT THE POLES FEEL THEY HAVE NO OTHER CHOICE.

8. THE LANGUAGE OF THE " RESOLUTION" ALSO SEEMS TO IMPLY THAT POLISH- SOVIET ECONOMIC RELATIONS WERE DISCUSSED, ALTHOUGH WHETHER THIS BEARS ANY RELATION TO THE DISCUSSION OF THE GERMAN QUESTION IS UNKNOWN AT THIS TIME. DAVIES

NOTE BY OCT: ## OMISSION;  
CORRECTION TO FOLLOW.

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